1: Karsten--458-459 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 768 (1928-29)

"The belongings of the dead are disposed of in different ways. Some must disappear with the dead because they are taboo; these are naturally such as have been in close contact with him especially during his last sickness as, for instance, the clothes in which he lay sick and in which he died. The same is the rule in regard to the pininga from which he ate and the gourd which he used as a drinking cup. All these articles to which the taboo of sickness and death attach, are interred with the body, or destroyed and got rid of in some other way. Similarly his comb, whether he had used it during his illness or not, is always destroyed, evidently because the comb which has been in contact with the hair of the dead man is in an eminent sense taboo. Certain other and more valuable belongings are, on the other hand, kept as they had not been in contact with him so recently, for instance his best itipi or loin-cloth used for feasts and visiting, his blowgun, and his lances (with the exception of the one which must be left on the grave). These objects therefore are inherited by his sons, and divided between them. When a woman [459]dies, her belongings--with the exception of those destroyed or interred with the body--are inherited by her daughters."

12: Rivet--609-610 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 768

Usually, widows go to live in the house of the brothers of the deceased, where they increase the harem, or else they return to their family; even in that case they quickly remarry; an Ecuadorian who has lived for a long time in this region [610] only once saw a woman living alone and independent in the company of her two sons. She had already had two husbands and refused to make a third experiment.

25: Vigna--49 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 768

The Jîbaro has no need of making a will. He leaves few things on this earth, and all of them are of slight importance. The earth belongs to all; the house is subject to rapid deterioration; the gardens belong to the women, the sons will each one think for himself; the women will be carried away by the most immediate relatives who adduce inalienable rights over them. It is not unusual for fights and wars to arise over a widow. No one talks of the dead in conversation with strangers.

28: Tessman--361 [2] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 768, 587

The estate is not destroyed, but passed on to the heirs. The estate is rather evenly distributed among the sons and brothers of the father, and other relatives may get something, too, if they wish. Even the wife is passed on as part of the estate: she goes to the older brother of her deceased husband, and she lives with him as early as one to two weeks after her husband's death.

335 cont.

better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and their suggestions are decisive. The Jivaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

356 leak. Occasionally, such leakage does not occur significantly
362 until the ninth year of occupancy.

342 If structural decay alone forces abandonment of a house,
361 the new one is constructed sometimes only fifty to a hundred yards away. More frequently, however, poor hunting conditions necessitate the construction of the new structure
[224] two or three miles distant. Sometimes the scarcity of game requires a move to a greater distance, ten miles or more. In
[628] the not infrequent cases when a man and his family flee the neighborhood to escape assassination attempts, the new dwelling may be erected forty to eighty miles from the previous
• [768] site. The death of the male head of the household is also cause for abandonment.

342 Houses are constructed by the men. While most of the
462 building work technically could be done by the dwelling owner himself, he is generally helped by one or two close
476 male relatives living nearby. The transportation and erection
602 of the main house posts are the only tasks requiring a larger crew. For this effort, the owner invites about half a dozen male neighbors to help him.

342 Posts, beams, roof and walls are all lashed firmly together
554 with strips of inner tree bark. Proceeding painstakingly, a man usually constructs a large and impressive structure capable of withstanding not only the natural elements and enemy attack, but also critical evaluation by his neighbors. The size and quality of a man's house is regarded as a serious indication of his personal "power," *kakarma*.

595 A family averaging only about nine persons typically occu-
574 pies these rather large houses. While to a casual observer the
535 size of the house might seem excessive in terms of everyday needs, the large floor space is deemed essential for hosting visitors, who are often guests coming to drink and dance. Since dancing is never done outdoors, where persons would

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

bow. A shaman who has had his *tsentsak* taken away in this manner will discover that "nothing happens" when he drinks *natema*. The sudden loss of his *tsentsak* will tend to make him ill, but ordinarily the illness is not fatal unless a bewitcher shoots a magical dart into him while he is in this weakened condition. If he has not become disillusioned by his experience, he can again purchase *tsentsak* from some other shaman and resume his calling.

Death

A death is announced to the neighborhood by beating the log signal drum, if the house has one, in the same rhythm used to send the alarm when a house is attacked. Little ambiguity usually is involved since the neighbors tend to know whether anyone in the signaling household has been seriously ill. All corpses are buried inside of the house instead of out of doors so as to "keep the dead one protected from the cold rain." Except when the house owner dies, the family continues to live in the dwelling, the rationale being expressed thus by an informant: "When they were alive, we did not fear them. Therefore we should not fear them when they are dead, although we do a little." After the house is later abandoned in the normal course of events, family members will return when the roof seriously disintegrates to build a small palm thatch over the grave.

If an infant or small child dies, the body is put into a large beer-brewing jar or cooking pot in an upright sitting position. An inverted cooking pot is placed on top to act as a cover, and the two vessels are sealed together with clay. The urn is buried in the center of the house with some chonta palm staves

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

laid above it to protect the pottery cover from being crushed by persons walking above.

The bodies of deceased older children and wives are also buried in the house floor, although not in urns. A body is interred on its back and extended, with the arms at the sides, and wrapped in sections of split guadua bamboo. More split bamboo is laid on top before the earth is added. Graves are usually only about two-and-a-half to three feet deep, one man explaining, "When we live, we do not live far away from the surface of the earth, so when we are dead, we should not, either."

When the house owner dies, the dwelling is abandoned and his wife (wives) and children will go or be taken to live with other relatives, such as a potential husband (*yači* of the deceased) or a son-in-law, until she remarries. She cuts her hair short as a sign of mourning, and ideally should not take a new husband until the hair has grown back down to her shoulders. Since the house will no longer be used, the deceased head of the household may be buried either below ground or above it on a low scaffold. In the latter case, a large balsa log is hollowed out in a manner somewhat similar to a canoe, from which it takes its name (*kanu*), although canoes are not actually used for this purpose. The corpse is laid inside and the coffin top is covered with lashed-down bark from the same log. Finally, the log is placed on crossbars so that it is between, and in line with, the two main center posts of the house, with the head towards the doorway of the women's end of the dwelling. A grave is in the same location. If several persons in a household die simultaneously in an epidemic and, as a result, the house is abandoned, they may all receive a scaffold burial.

Whether buried above or below ground, a man's corpse is dressed in a new kilt, adorned with his glass bead necklaces,